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After convening of the People's Congress at all levels, the provincial governments were busy with census-taking, the registration of voters, elections, meetings of the hsiang congress and congress of the municipality, and the election of the delegates to be sent to the congress on the next higher level. On September 15, 1954, the National People's Congress met for the first time, and on September 20, 1954, the new Constitution was passed. The principles of organization for provincial governments and local governments were formulated. A statute for the organization of the local People's Congress on all levels and the local People's Council was published, followed by the election of new chairmen and of the members of the provincial government. [642]

A. The Provincial Government

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In the post-Constitution period, the provincial governments have been placed on a new basis. Each province has the status of an administrative district under the supervision of the Central People's Government, according to Chinese political tradition. However, there is a point of departure from the traditional system, in that some members of the provincial government are elected locally (see below) and a Provincial People's Congress has a share in the deliverative functions. The term "legislative" which is applied to the National Congress in Peking, does not appear in the section of the Constitution formulating the principles of organization for the provincial government. As a result, the Provincial People's Congress is limited to the function of a deliberative body. Thus each province, according to Article 53 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, becomes an administrative district

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modified to such an extent that its chief duties concern only the passing of budgets, the enforcing of laws, and the safeguarding of the "rights" of the citizens. Although the provincial government is an elected body and a Provincial People's Congress sits next to it, it does not resemble an American state, with its reserved powers, nor does it resemble a British borough, which operates under a special grant of powers.

The province under the Chinese Communist Constitution is only one of a number of administrative districts, which are comprised of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, all directly responsible to and under the authority of the Central People's Government. Even the county and the hsiang are considered administrative districts, although they are not directly under the authority of the Central People's Government.

The provincial executive body consists of a governor, a number of deputy-governors, and 25-55 members of the Provincial People's Council. Although the governor, the deputy-governors, and the members of the Provincial Council are elected by the Provincial People's Congress, the commissioners, who head the twelve provincial departments -- Civil Affairs, Public Security, Finance, Grain, and the like -- are appointed by the Central People's Government, according to Article 9 of the Organizational Law of the State Council.

The Provincial Peop le's Congress has the following powers, according to the Chinese Communist Constitution:

1. To insure observance and execution of the r esolutions of the National People's Congress.

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2. To adopt and promulgate resolutions within the limits of their functions and power.
3. To plan economic construction, cultural construction, public works, pension work, and relief work.
4. To consider and approve budgets and financial statements.
5. To elect members to the Provincial People's Council.
6. To elect presidents of the Provincial People's Courts.
7. To elect deputies to the National People's Congress.
8. To hear and examine the work reports of the Provincial People's Council and the Provincial People's Court.
9. To revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders of the Provincial People's Council.
10. To revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's congresses of the next lower level and the inappropriate decisions and orders of the People's Councils of the next lower level.
11. To protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights.
12. To ensure the equal rights of minority nationals.
13. To recall the members of the Provincial People's Councils and the president of the court, elected by them.

The members of the Provincial People's Congress are elected by the congresses in the counties, municipalities, etc., rather than directly by the people of the province.

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The number of members elected is governed by two principles concerning the population of the province and the number of counties which lie within the territory of each province. These two principles are stipulated by the Electoral Law of the People's Congress:

"A province with a population not exceeding 20,000,000 shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; with a population exceeding 20,000,000, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties is exceedingly small, the number of deputies may be less than 100 but not less than 50; where the population and the number of counties are exceptionally large, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but must not exceed 600....

"A county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population exceeding 200,000 and not more than 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a population exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies. From the municipalities, towns, and important industrial and mining districts within the province, one deputy shall be elected for every 20,000 population."

These principles give the six provinces of the Central-South Region the following quotas of delegates to the National People's Congress:

Delegates to the National People's Congress

Province	No. of Delegates	Population	No. of Counties	No. of Provincial Municipalities	No. of Hsiang
Honan	535	44, 214, 594	86	12	6, 411
Hupeh	361	27, 789, 693	71	5	15, 175
Hunan	505	33, 226, 954	77	2	14, 830
Kiangsi	408	16, 772, 865	82	9	9, 994
Kwangsi	560	34, 770, 059	99	9	9, 576
Kwangtung	417	19, 560, 822	99	6	lacking

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When the local People's congresses were convened, they first elected the delegates to be sent to the People's Congress on the next higher level. Only after the National People's Congress ratified the constitution and the laws of organization of the People's Council and the People's Congress on all levels did the members of the provincial congresses and the county congresses know what their duties were to be, the number of persons to be assigned to local government, and the number of persons they were entitled to elect.

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The results of the election of provincial executive officers were announced after September 1954:

Honan Province:

Governor: Wu Chih-p'u.
Deputy-Governors: Chao Wen-fu, Hsing Chao t'ang, Shih Fang-sheng, Chi Yu-fu, Chia Hsin-chai, Ch'i Wen-chien.
President of Provincial People's High Court: Wang Kuang-li.

Hupeh Province:

Governor: Liu Tzu-hou.
Deputy-Governors: Chang T'i-hsüeh, Hsiung Chin-huai, Liu Chi-sun, Li-Ming-hao, Ch'en I-hsin, Nieh Kuo-ch'ing.
President of Provincial People's High Court: Chien I-min.

Hunan Province:

Governor: Ch'eng Ch'ien.
Deputy-Governors: Chou Hsiao-chou, T'ang Sheng-chih, T'an Yu-pao, Ch'eng Hsing-ling, Hsü Ch-i-wen, Hsia Ju-ai, Chang Meng-hsu.
President of Provincial People's High Court: Ts'ao Po-wen.

Kiangsi Province:

Governor: Shao Shih-p'ing.
Deputy-Governors: Fang Chih-ch'un, Jao Ssu-ch'eng, Wang Cho-ch'ao, Huang Hsien, Ch Chieh-yung, Ouyang Wu.
President of Provincial People's High Court: Ch K'ai-ch'üan.

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Kwangtung Province.

Governor: T'ao Chu.

Deputy-Governors: Ku Ta-ts'un, Feng Po-chü, Ho Hsi-ming, Wen Min-sheng, Ch'en Ju-t'ang, Ch'iu Che, Yin Lin-p'ing

President of Provincial People's High Court: Chou Nan.

Kwangsi Province:

Governor: Wei Kuo-ch'ing.

Deputy-Governors: Ho Chung-shih, Li Jen-jen, Ch'en Tsai-li Mo Nai-ch'ün, Hsiao I-chou, T'an Ying-chi, Lu Shao-wu, Ch'en T'zu-sheng.

President of Provincial People's High Court: Hou Mu-han.

Each provincial governor, upon his election, summons the Provincial Congress and reports on the work accomplished by the previous administration as well as upon the work to be done under his administration. Then a budget for the coming fiscal year is presented to the Congress and a financial statement for the year past is approved. The Congress is expected to approve the governor's proposals. Besides convening to give routine assent, the Provincial Congress sends statements of support to the Central People's Government on special occasions, as part of the general procedure of the Provincial Congress.

B. Local Government

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The administrative districts below the provincial level include the municipality, the county, and the hsiang or chen. Urban populations live

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in municipalities and counties; the hsiang is a unit of rural or semi-rural population. Between the provincial level and the county level is the Administrative District Commissioner, whose duty as agent of the regime calls for inspection of the county governments within his assigned district. The office of the administrative district commissioner has been established on the basis of Article 42 of the principles for the organization of the local People's Congress and People's Council. Commissioners are appointed by the provincial government.

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE SIX PROVINCES

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The following list gives the names of the municipalities, administrative districts, and counties of the six provinces of Central-South China as of 1955:

Honan Province. Capital, Chengchou.

1. Twelve municipalities (cities): Chengchow, Kaifeng, Hsin-hsiang, Loyang, Anyang, Shang-ch'iu, Chou-k'ou, Lo-ho, Nan-yang, Hsin-yang, Hsu-ch'ang, Chu-ma-tien.
2. Eight Administrative Districts.
   a) Chengchow (District Administrative office at Ying-yang), comprising 13 counties: Ying-yang, Chung-mu, Kaifeng, Ch'en-liu, Lan-k'ao, Tung-ming, Ch'i, T'ung-hsü, Wei-shih, Hsin-cheng, Mi, Teng-feng, Kung. (Note: The word hsien is appended when speaking of counties which bear a monosyllabic name. E.g., Ch'i-hsien.)

22. Jen-min Shou-ts'e [People's Handbook, 1955 Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955 pp. 245-48.

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b) Hsin-hsiang (District Administrative office at Hsin-hsiang), comprising 15 counties: Hsin-hsiang, Po-ai, Hsiu-wu, Hui, Chi, Yen-chin, Yüan-yang, Huo-chia, Wu-chih, Wen, Meng, Ch'in-yang, Chi-yüan, Ch'ang-yüan, Feng-ch'iu; One industrial and mining district -- Chiao-tso Industrial and Mining District.

c) Anyang (District Administrative office at Anyang), comprising 9 counties: Anyang, T'ang-yin, Chun, Lin, P'u-yang, Ch'ing-feng, Nan-lo, Nei-huang, Hua.

d) Shang-ch'iu, (District Administrative office at Shang-ch'iu Municipality), comprising 14 counties: Shang-ch'iu, Yu-ch'eng, Hsia-i, Yung-ch'eng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-ling, Sui, Min-ch'üan, Hsiang-ch'eng, Huai-yang, Lu-i, T'ai-k'ang, Tan-ch'eng, Shen-ch'iu.

e) Hsin-yang (District Administrative office at Hsin-yang Municipality), comprising 17 counties: Hsin-yang, Ch'üeh-shan, Hsu-p'ing, Shang-ts'ai, Ju-nan, P'ing-yü, Hsin-ts'ai, Cheng-yang, Lo-shan, Hsi, Huai-pin, Huang-ch'uan, Ku-shih, Shang-ch'eng, Kuang-shan, Hsin.

f) Hsü-ch'ang (District Administrative office at Hsu-ch'ang Municipality), comprising 15 counties: Hsü-ch'ang, Ch'ang-ko, Yen-ling, Lin-ying, Yen-ch'eng, Wu-yang, Hsiang-ch'eng, Yeh, Pao-feng, Lu shan, Chia, Yü, Fu-kou, Shang-shui, Hsi-hua.

g) Nan-yang (District Administrative office at Nan-yang Municipality), comprising 12 counties: Nan-yang, Fang-ch'eng, Pi-yang, T'ung-po, T'ang-po, Hsin-yeh, Teng, Hsi-ch'uan, Hsi-hsia, Nei-hsiang, Chen-p'ing, Nan-chao.

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h) Loyang (District Administrative Office at Loyang Municipality), 15 counties: Loyang, Meng-chin, Yen-shih, I-ch'uan, I-yang, Sung, Luan-ch'uan, Lu-shih, Ling-pao, Shan, Min-ch'ih, Lo-ning, I-yang, Hsin-an, Lin-ju.

Hupeh Province. Capital, Wuhan Municipality.

1. Five municipalities (cities): Wuhan, I-ch'ang, Hsiang-fan, Sha-shih, Huang-shih

2. Six districts:

a) Hsiao-kan (District Administrative Office at Hsiao-kan) 16 counties: Hsiao-kan, Ying-shan, Ta-wu, Huang-p'o (Huang-p'i), Han-yang, Wuchang, Kan-ning, T'ung-shan, Ch'ung-yang, T'ung ch'eng, P'u-ch'i, Chia-yu, Han-ch'uan, Yun-meng, Ying-ch'eng, An-lu.
b) Huang-kang (District Administrative Office at Huang-kang) 14 counties: Huang-kang, Hsin-chou, Pao-an, Ma-ch'eng, Sheng-li, Lo-t'ien, Ying-shan, Hsi-shui, Ch'i-ch'un, Huang-mei, Kuang-chi, Yang-hsin, Ta-yeh, O-ch'eng.
c) Ching-chou (District Administrative Office at Chiang-ling), 13 counties: Chiang-ling, Ching-men, Chung-hsiang, Ching-shan, T'ien-men, Chien-chiang, Mien-yang, Hung-hu, Chien-li, Shih-chou, Kung-an, Sung-tzu, Ching-chiang.
d) I-ch'ang (District Administrative Office at I-ch'ang), 9 counties: I-ch'ang, Yuan-an, Tang-yang, I-tu, Chih-chiang, Wu-feng, Ch'ang-yang, Tzu-kuei, Hsing-shan.
e) En-shih (District Administrative Office at En-shih), 8 counties: En-shih, Chien-shih,

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Pa-tung, Ho-feng, Hsuan-en, Lai-feng, Hsien-feng, Li-ch'uan. 635 •

f) Hsiang-yang (District Administrative Office at Hsiang-yang), 15 counties: Hsiang-yang, Tsao-yang, Sui, Hung-shan, I-ch'eng, Nan-chang, Pao-k'ang, Fang, Chu-shan, Chu-ch'i, Yun-hsi, Yun, Chun, Ku-ch'eng, Kuang-hua. 631

Hunan Province. Capital, Changsha.

1. Nine municipalities (cities): Changsha, Heng-yang, Hsiang-t'an, Shao-yang, Ch'ang-te, I-yang, Chu-chou, Chin-shih, Hung-chiang.
2. Six districts and one autonomous district:
   a) Hsiang-t'an (District Administrative Office at Hsiang-t'an Municipality) 12 counties: Hsiang-t'an, Ning-hsiang, Wang-ch'eng, Changsha, Hsiang-yin, Yueh-yang, Lin-hsiang, P'ing-chiang, Liu-yang, Li-ling, Yu, Ch'a-ling.
   b) Ch'ang-te (District Administrative Office at Ch'ang-tse Municipality), 14 counties: Ch'ang-te, Lin-li, Li, An-hsiang, Hua-yung, Nan, Yuan-chiang, I-yang, Han-shou, T'ao-chiang. An-hua, T'ao-yüan, Tz'u-li, Shih-men.
   c) Shao-yang (District Administrative Office at Shao-yang Municipality), 12 counties: Shao-yang, Hsin-shao, Lien-yüan, Shuang-feng, Hsiang-hsiang, Shao-tung, Hsin-ning, Ch'eng-pu, Wu-kang, Tung-k'ou, Lung-hui, Hsin-hua.
   d) Ch'ien-yang (District Administrative Office at Ch'ien-yang), 11 counties: Ch'ien-yang, Huai-hua, Chen-ch'i, Yüan-ling, Hsu-p'ü, Sui-ning, Ching, Hui-t'ung, Chih-chiang, Huang, Ma-yang; one minority nationality autonomous hsien (T'ung-tao T'ung Nationality Autonomous Hsien).

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e) Heng-yang (District Administrative Office at Heng-yang), 12 counties: Heng-yang, Heng-nan, Heng-shan, Ch'ang-ning, Ling-ling, Yung-ming, Ch'i-yang, Ch'i-tung, Ning-yuan, Tung-an, Tao, Chiang-hua.

f) Ch'in-hsien (District Administrative Office at Ch'in-hsien), 14 counties : Ch'in, Lan-shan, I-chang, Yung-hsing, Kuei-tung, Kuei-yang, An-jen, Chia-huo, Lin-wu, Ju-ch'eng, Tz'u-hsing, Hsin-t'ien, Ling, Lei-yang.

g) Hsiang-hsi Miao Nationality Autonomous District (District People's Government at Chi-shou Hsien), 10 counties: Chi-shou, Hua-yüan, Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Lung-shan, Sang-chih, Ta-yung, Ku-chang, Lu-ch'i, Feng-huang.

Kiangsi Province. Capital: Nanchang.

1. Six municipalities (cities): Nanchang, Ching-te-chen, Kan-chou, Shang-jao, Chiu-chiang, Chi-an.

2. One special district directly under the jurisdiction of the provincial government - the Lu-shan Special District.

3. Five districts and one field administrative district.
   a) Nanchang (District Administrative Office at Nanchang Municipality), 17 counties: Nanchang, Chin-hsien, Feng-ch'eng, Ch'ing-chiang, Hsin-yü, Shang-kao, Fen-i, I-ch'un, P'ing-hsiang, Wan-tsai, T'ung-ku, I-feng, Kao-an, Feng-hsin, Ching-an, An-i, Hsin-chien.

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b) Chiu-chiang (District Administrative Office at Chiu-chiang Municipality), 10 counties: Chiu-chiang, Hu-k'ou, P'eng-tse, Tu-ch'ang, Hsing-tzu, Yung-hsiu, Hsiu-shui, Wu-ning, Te-an, Jui-ch'ang.

c) Shang-jao (District Administrative Office at Shang-jao Municipality), 16 counties: Shang-yao, Yu-shan, Kuang-feng, Ch'ien-shan, Heng-feng, I-yang, Kuei-ch'i, Tung-hsiang, Yu-chiang, Wan-nien, Po-yang, Lo-p'ing, Fu-liang, Wu-yuan, Te-hsing, Yu-kan.

d) Fu-chou (District Administrative Office at Lin-ch'uan), 9 counties: Lin-ch'uan, Chin-ch'i, Tzu-ch'i, Nan-ch'eng, Li-ch'uan, Nan-feng, Lo-an, I-huang, Ch'ung-jen.

e) Chi-an (District Administrative Office at Chi-an Municipality), 12 counties: Chi- an, Hsia-chiang, Hsin-kan, Yung-feng, Chi-shui, T'ai-ho, Wan-an, Hsü-ch'uan, Ning-kang, Yung-hsin, Lien-hua, An-fu.

f) Kan-nan (Southern Kiangsi) (Field Administrative District) (District Administrative Office at Kan-chou), one municipality (Kan-chou Municipality), 18 counties: Kan, Hsing-kuo, Yü-tu, Ning-tu, Shih-ch'eng, Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Hsün-wu, An-yüan, Ting-nan, Lung-nan, Ch'ien-nan, Hsin-feng, Nan-k'ang, Ta-yü, Ch'ung-i, Shang-yu, Kuang-ch'ang.

Kwangtung Province.[23] Capital, Kuang-chou(Canton)

1. Nine municipalities (cities): Kuang-chou, Shan-t'ou (Swatow), Chan-chiang (Kwangchowan), Fo-shan, Ch'ao-chou, Hai-k'ou (Hoihow), Chiang-men, Shao-kuan, Shih-ch'i, Pei-hai.
2. Five districts and one autonomous district:
   a) Yüeh-chung (Central Kuangtung) (District

23. [See following page.]

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Administrative Office at Chiang-men), 25 counties: Hsin-hui, Ho-shan-Kao-ming, Kao-yao, Hsing-hsing, Yün-fu, Lo-ting, Yu-nan, Te-ch'ing, Feng-ch'uan, K'ai-chien, Huai-chi, Kuang-ning, Ssu-hui, San-shui, Nan-hai, Shun-te, Fan-yü, Chung-shan, Chu-hai, Pao-an, Tung-wan, Tseng-ch'eng, Lung-men, Po-lo.

b) Yüeh-pei (Northern Kwangtung) (District Administrative Office at Shao-kuan Municipality), 18 counties: Ch'ü-chiang, Lo-ch'ang, Jen-hua, Nan-hsiung, Shih-hsing, Weng-yüan, Ho-p'ing, Lien-p'ing, Hsin-feng, Fo-kang, Ts-ung-hua, Hua, Ch'ing-yüan, Ying-te, Yang-shan, Ju-yüan, Lien, Lien-shan; one minority nationality autonomous subdistrict (Lien-nan Yao Nationality Autonomous Subdistrict.)

c) Yüeh-tung (Eastern Kwangtung) (District Administrative Office at Ch'ao-chou Munici-

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[continued from previous page]

23. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the State Council on May 31, 1955, in Peking, it was decided that the five hsien of Ch'in, Ho-p'u, Lin-shan, Fang-ch'eng, and P'u-pei, and the municipality of Pei-hai of Kwangsi Province be incorporated into Kwangtung Province. Presumably these areas were placed under the jurisdiction of the Yueh-hsi (western Kwangtung) District, but the Peking announcement failed to specify. It is to be noted that all these areas are on the coast and include some valuable seaports. The latest move in political redemarcation could conceivably have significant bearing on the streamlining of Red China's southern coastal defense. However, a comparison of maps shows that the revised Kwangtung-Kwangsi boundary closely resembles that of the 1930's.

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pality), 21 counties: Chao-an, Jao-p'ing, Nan-ao, Ch'eng-hai, Chieh-yang, Ch'ao-yang, P'u-ning, Hui-lai Lu-feng, Hai-feng, Hui-yang, Wu-hua, Tzu-chin, Ho-yuan, Lung-ch'uan, Hsing-ning, P'ing-yuan, Chiao-ling, Mei, Ta-p'u, Feng-shun.

d) Yüeh-hsi (Western Kwangtung) (District Administrative Office at Chan-chiang), 15 counties: Hsü-ch'i, Wu-ch'uan, Lien-chiang, Hua, Mou-ming, Hsin-i, Yang-ch'un, En-p'ing, T'ai-shan, Yang-chiang, Tien-pai, Hai-k'ang, Hsü-wen, Lei-tung.

e) Hainan (District Administrative Office at Haik'ou), 11 counties: Ch'iung-shan, Wen-ch'ang, Ting-an, Ch'iung-tung, Lo-hui, Wan-ning, Ch'ang-kan, Tan, Lin-kao, Ch'eng-mai, Tun-ch'ang.

f) Hainan Li and Miao Nationalities Autonomous District (District Administrative Office at Ch'ung-ch'ang in Pao-t'ing Hsien), 7 counties: Lo-tung, Tung-fang, Pai-sha, Chiung-chung, Pao-t'ing, Ling-shui, Yai.

Kwangsi Province. Capital, Nan-ning Municipality.

1. Four municipalities (cities): Nanning, Liu-chou, Kweilin, Wu-chou.

2. The Kuei-hsi (Western Kwangsi) T'ung Nationality Autonomous District) (Autonomous District People's Government at Nanning), 3 subdistricts:

a) Yung-ning (Subdistrict Administrative Office at Nanning), 15 counties: Yung-ning (Subdistrict Administrative Office at Nanning), 15 counties: Yung-ning, Pin-yang, Heng, Fu-sui, Ch'ung-tso, Ning-ming, Lung-chin, Ta-hsin, Chen-tu, Lung-an, Wu-ming, Shang-lin, Ma-shan, Tu-an, Shang-ssu.

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b) Po-se (Subdistrict Administrative Office at Po-se), 11 counties: Po-se, T'ien-lin, Ling-lo, Feng-shan, Tung-lan, P'ing-kuo, T'ien-tung, T'ien-yang, Te-pao, Ching-hsi, Lu-pien; one autonomous area (the Lung-lin Nationalities Joint Autonomous Area).

c) I-shan (Subdistrict Administrative Office at Ch'ing-yüan in I-shan Hsien), 12 counties: I-shan, Ho-ch'ih, Nan-tan, T-ien-o, Huan-chiang, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-an, Liu-ch'eng, Liu-chiang, Shih-lung, Lai-pin, Hsin-ch'eng; two autonomous areas (the Ta-miao-shan Miao Nationality Autonomous Area and the San-chiang-hsien T'ung Nationality Autonomous Area).

3. Three districts:

a. Kweilin (District Administrative Office at Kweilin), 8 counties: Lin-kuei, Hsing-an, Ch'üan, Kuan-yang, Yang-shuo, Lu-chai, Yung-fu, Tzu-yüan; one autonomous area (the Lung-sheng-hsien Nationalities Joint Autonomous Area).

b) P'ing-lo (District Administrative Office at P'ing-lo), 7 counties: P'ing-lo, Kung-ch'eng, Fu-chung, Ho-hsien, Chao-p'ing, Meng-shan, Li-p'u; one autonomous area (the Ta-yao-shan Yao Nationality Autonomous Area).

c) Yung-hsien (District Administrative Office at Yung-hsien), 11 counties: Yung-hsien, T'eng, Ts'ang-wu, Ts'en-ch'i, Pei-liu, Lu-ch'uan, Yü-lin, Kuei, Kuei-p'ing, P'ing-nan, Po-pai.

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To study the operation of the local governments, including the People's Council and the People's Congress, let us begin with the status of the officials involved. Many "labor heroes" and influential

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personages in the agricultural co-operatives and mutual-aid teams have been elected to public office. In the province of Honan, a typesetter was chosen from the trade union, and 41 presidents of agricultural co-operatives were chosen to serve in the People's Congress. Women members made [562] up 28 per cent of the delegates to the People's Congress. In Tu-an County in Kwangsi Province, 635 an area of minority nationalities, 37 members of 563 the Yao people, 17 members of the Chuang people, and 13 members of the Han-Chinese were elected to serve. Nineteen of those chosen were women from the minority groups. In T'ai-shan, Kwangtung Province, 39 were elected as members of the People's Congress and 13 as members of the hsiang People's Council.[24]

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Elections in 98 per cent of the basic units of the municipalities, counties, and hsiang were to be completed by May 25, 1954. Because leaders of the Party had urged the people to exercise their right to vote, about 85-90 per cent of those eligible to vote went to the polls. The Communist propaganda agencies insist that in Shao-shan hsiang, the birthplace of Mao Tse-tung, 100 per cent of those eligible to vote did so.

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It was reported that, in the province of Kiangsi, preparations for the People's Congress begun in June 1953 were completed by March 1954. In the 82 counties and 6 provincial districts and the special district of Lu Shan (Kuling), 10,000 delegates attended sessions of the People's Congress. Those winning the maximum number of votes were

24. People's Daily, May 21, 1954.

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of top officials cannot be classified on the basis of background or unity of function. They include one president of a People's High Court (Ts'ao Po-wen), two members of Provincial People's Governments (Li Ti'en-yu and Wang Shu-sheng), and two deputy-governors (T'an Ying-chi and Lu Shao-wu). None of them is noted as a Party official, but they appear to have more status than the others of their administrative groups, not only because of their additional positions but also because these positions are among those held, in the past or at present, by the senior leaders: commanders of military districts, National and Provincial Committee members of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and one director of the department of public safety -- a position indicating Party reliability. It seems safe to assume then, that if these men cannot yet be considered to hold senior status, they are at least high among those next in line.

When we consider the various incumbents according to the positions they hold on the regional level, we learn something of the significance of the positions in themselves and of the type of men who occupy them.

GOVERNORS

Our study includes the governors of Kwangtung, Kiangsi, Hupeh, and Honan Provincial People's governments. One of these men, Shao Shih-p'ing, has been a Communist leader since 1927; two governors were directors in Border Region governments; the fourth, T'ao Chu, has been known to us only since 1949.

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The careers of the two former Border Region officials -- Wu Chih-p'u of Honan Province and Liu Tzu-hou of Hupeh Province -- have some similarities. Both were first vice-chairmen and, later, chairmen of the governments of their provinces. Liu was a member of the Central-South China M.P.C. and Central-South China A.C.; Wu was a delegate to the First Chinese People's P.C.C. Liu is now deputy secretary of the Hupeh Provincial Committee of the Communist Party; Wu's present Party position is not known -- he is noted only as a delegate to the First NPC.

Shao Shih-p'ing, the governor of the Kiangsi Provincial People's Government, was a guerrilla organizer from 1927 to 1937, when he became associated with the Shansi, Hopei, and Chahar Anti-Japan University. He became president of this university before leaving it, in 1944, to join the Central Party School of the Communist Party of China. He later became chairman of the Kiangsi Provincial People's Government and a member of the Central-South China M.P.C. and Central-South China A.C. In addition to being governor, he is also a delegate to the First NPC. His exact Party status is not known.

T'ao Chu, the governor of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Government, is the only one of the four who did not proceed to his position via the chairmanship, although he was, for a time in 1954, vice-chairman. Other than this we have only a few facts about his past career. His first known positions (in 1949) were as director of the Department

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of Political Affairs of the Central-South China Military District and of the 4th Field Army, and as political commissar of the Kwangtung Province Military District. Except for his membership on the Central-South China M.P.C. and Central-South China A.C., the rest of the data on T'ao are current: in conjunction with his governorship, he also occupied the posts of chairman of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and acting secretary of the South China Sub-bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC.

We find, then, two types of governor: trusted Communist leaders with relatively long records of loyal service, and the Communist official whose multiple positions and high-ranking Party status indicate top level authority in the administrative structure. Keeping in mind our earlier conclusion that a long service record alone does not insure real seniority in terms of power, nevertheless we can see -- as we might expect -- that the governorship is an important instrument for insuring local Party control, and that the men in this position will represent the real source of authority in the government.

CHAIRMEN, PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENTS

Only one man is noted as chairman of a Provincial People's Government: Wei Kuo-ch'ing, of Kwangsi. All that is known of his past career is that in 1949 he was chairman of the Fu-chou (Foochow) Military Control Committee, and from 1950 to 1954,

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vice-political commissar of the Fukien Province Military District. His present multiple posts, however, rank him with the top group of leaders. He is a delegate and a member of the Standing Committee of the First NPC, vice-director of the Committee on Nationalities Affairs of the State Council, member of the National Defense Council, and member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. Although his Party status is not known, it may be assumed to be significant on two counts: the nature and number of his posts in the administration, and the nature of the post of chairman itself.

Former chairmen are, with one exception, Party men with senior status. The exception is Ch'eng Ch'ine, a Nationalist leader of long standing who was a candidate for the vice-presidency in the last Kuomintang election on the Mainland, is now the highest ranking of all the ex-Kuomintang men noted in this survey. The nine other former chairmen have all proceeded to positions of considerable importance. We find among them, as noted above, three of the four governors. We also find three members of the Central Committee of the CPC and two veteran Communists whose exact present Party rank is not known; all five are members of the National Defense Council. The ninth man is Hsing Chao-t'ang, former chairman of the Ninghsia Provincial People's Government, who is at present deputy governor of the Honan Provincial People's Government and delegate from Kansu Province to the First NPC.

We may conclude that the chairmanship, like the governorship, is under tight Party control, and

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has been reserved for men of noteworthy dependability or competence. The only exception -- Ch'eng Ch'ien - serves to emphasize this point, since he is exceptional among the group of ex-Kuomintang officials, and is the only one to hold the rank of chairman. 647 635

VICE-CHAIRMEN, PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENTS

When we examine the position of vice-chairman, we find that twenty men out of the seventy-nine have held the position of vice-chairman of a Provincial People's Government. Obviously some of these have gone on up the ladder; we have already mentioned three governors who are former vice-chairmen. In addition, we find five ranking Party members who have held this post and are now members of the senior group of leaders. Four of the Kuomintang men are former vice-chairmen, but they are not among those of their group who hold the most important positions. They are deputy-governors; one is also a member of the National Defense Council and of a Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and one is on the National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.; otherwise they do not hold top-level posts.

The remaining eight former vice-chairmen are all deputy-governors. Five hold this position only, while the other three are also delegates to the First NPC. Only a small amount of background information indicating previous training or experience is available to us: three were members of the Central-

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South China M.P.C. and Central-South China A.C.; two are former members of Provincial People's Governments: one is a former Border Region official; one is a Communist Party Provincial Committee member; and two others are unknown. 647 635

DEPUTY-GOVERNORS

Forth-one men are deputy-governors. Thirteen have been considered in detail above -- the six Party officials, the two Border Region members, the five former Kuomintang men. It is worth noting again that in all of these groups, the men who hold the post of deputy-governor also hold, on the whole, other positins less important than those held by their associates in the same groups. Despite their similarity in background to the others, they do not have as many positions, nor do their positions include as many key posts.

We have no information about eleven of the remaining twenty-eight deputy-governors beyond the statement of their present position. On the basis of the available data about the others, we find six posts which many of them have held or now hold: member, Provincial People's Government (10); vice-chairman (7, not including the Party official discussed above); membership on the Central-South China M.P.C. and Central-South China A.C. (7); director, department of public safety (4); Provincial Committee member, Chinese People's P.C.C. (2); and delegate, First NPC (9). Only two of these men hold more than two positions; they have already been studied. None of the others has an obviously

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significant combination of jobs or, as far as we can tell from the data, a background of particular meaning.

In connection with our study of the position of deputy-governor, it should be said that only three members of the Democratic Leagure noted among the entire seventy-nine men are deputy-governors. They are also delegates to the First NPC, and two are past members of the Central-South China M.P.C. and Central-South China A.C., but they hold no other positions on either regional or national levels.

MEMBERS, PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENTS

Ten men are identified as members of Provincial People's Governments. Each also holds another position of significance: four Presidents of People's High Courts, five commanders of military districts, and one NDYC Provincial Committee member.

Three of these men have already been mentioned because they hold three or more jobs each: Ts'ao Po-wen, president of the Hunan People's High Court; and Li T'ien-yu and Wang Shu-sheng, both commanders of military districts.

Except that three of the other commanders of military districts are past members of the Central-South China M.P.C. and Central-South China A.C., and one of them is a delegate to the First NPC, none of these ten members holds any other post.

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We have minimal data especially for the presidents of People's High Courts. Except for Ts'ao Po-wen, discussed above, all that we know of the others is that four are members of Provincial People's Governments, and for the other two on our list, we have no information at all.

NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH CORPS OFFICIALS

Our last category concerns five NDYC members. Two have already been noted because of their posts as Central Committee member and provincial government member, respectively. The other three are all former members of the People's Control Committee of their provinces (Kiangsi, Hunan, and Honan), but now hold no other positions except on the NDYC. The fifth man, Huang Huan-ch'iu, is noted only as being secretary of the South China Committee of the NDYC.

CONCLUSION

Investigations of this sort suffer, as yet, from a lack of detailed information not only of many key individuals in higher categories of Party and government, but more especially of second- and third-level men on the way up. We can conclude without meaningful qualification that the central leadership of the Communist Party of China keeps tight control of decisions in regional and provincial governmental administrations, but more revealing analyses of elite patterns will depend upon the continued collection of biographical detail on every important echelon and the expansion of each man's dossier to include material about his origins, social and economic background, education, and earliest advances on the latter to power.